/267 cont./

e) Medicine.

755 1) Origin of the sicknesses.

*[192] Their knowledge in this sector has been hurt by magic and superstition. Although the nature that surrounds him is prodigal, the native scarcely uses home remedies, because of his concept of the sicknesses, under the influence of the xamã /shaman/ or pajé (11).

11. In the account of the voyage of 1637 by Pe. Alonso de Rojas ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," p. 110), we find: -- "They fear /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ the sorcerers, whom they consult, and the latter fear the devil, from whom they receive oracles, and, with lies, they fool the miserable Indians."

753 /268/ They hide their sicknesses as much as possible. They do not know of the existence of pathogenic germs or of the chemical-biological action of the organism and the poisons that act upon it. Their logical mind, on the other hand, demands an explanation for the facts, it is certain that the effects demand a proportional cause. As the obvious forces of nature exist, they admit that there are, moreover, occult forces capable of producing the most varied and strange phenomena. Nor can the meteorological and astronomical phenomena fail to impress them. The Indian, besides, is a convinced animist, as we shall see later. All the sicknesses, for him, have only one cause, however varied their manifestations may be, to wit, the dohasé, which we could translate as malefice (12).

*[192]

•[754] 12. Like many among the civilized, they believe in witchcraft, evil eye, charms, enchantment, voodoo. A consequence of

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near [784] Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ï'á-ñõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

• 754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick: it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/363 cont./

• 754 *[192] 2nd. -- He can also, knowing that a person must pass by way of a trail, close the passage to him, putting across it a stick over which he has "blown"; it is what is called kã pe-vyó-kõ.

3rd. -- Nẽ'kã-yusé is said when he has "blown" over a fruit or a plant; if any person (74)

74. These local malefices can harm, by mistake, even the one who prepared them. Patrícia Vasconcelos told us that her uncle Marcos had cast a malefice on a cacuri /fish trap/ (see VI-5, a (2b)) against anyone who went there to steal fish. In the morning he forgot to neutralize the malefice, took some fish, and ate them. Soon he began to feel ill: dizziness, darkening vision, stomach-ache. He then called his own son and said to him: --"My son, I am going to die! I 'blew' on the cacurí, and by accident I ate some of the fish without removing the dohasé." Fortunately he escaped, having recourse to other magic practices.

eats some of this fruit, or even touches this object, he "will become crooked." They believe that all cases of stupor, with paralysis of the facial muscles and contortion of the mouth, are due to the malefices of some enemy.

The Tukano of Parí-cachoeira prepare their jequí /fish trap/ (see VI - 5, a (2a)) on a certain rock of the cachoeira; if they did it at home, they would not be able to catch any fish.

789 /364/ b) Things. -- Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português (entry Uirá-purú), speaks of the belief in the protective quality of certain charms. It is probable that he is not referring to the tribes of the Uaupés. Among them we not only did not find them, but they could not tell us whether the ancients had used them. In very rare cases we found necklaces of triangular [301] sheets (see -- 3, d (1)), with the character, it seems, solely of feminine adornment.

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261 183 571 431 string of two fish. Momentarily all eyes turned hungrily and happily toward him, only to encounter the averted eyes that told plainly that he was not going to share. The man walked directly to his own hearth and gave the fish to his wife, who was awaiting him there with the children. She took the fish in silence and quickly set about preparing it, never once turning her eyes out upon the maloca. The house filled with an appetizing aroma that it had not experienced for many days. Everyone pretended not to notice it. The little family sat glumly around its pot of fish, eating in silence and with averted eyes, observed only by the young children, who did not, however, venture near. One man made an effort to break the melancholy spell that had fallen over the maloca. The effort failed. A visitor to the maloca the next morning, however, would have been unaware that the previous night had been a miserable one.

261 183 571 431 522 During this same period of hunger I also saw a household head prance into the house holding before him one little minnow. He chanted in a comic vein a little ditty to the effect that he had singly caught this monster of a fish and that now his wife would prepare it and all would feast, putting an end to their hunger. With a grand gesture he gave the fish to his wife, who giggled merrily and, helped by the women, prepared it. The meal that followed was about the gayest I had attended. This is correct procedure. A responsible household head does what he can to boost morale. The nonsharer has a deadly influence upon a house and in the end he will have to leave. The Cubeo know very well what nonsharing means: He does not like us.

261 183 571 431 578 No one will be asked to leave his own kingroup except in a fit of anger. Just as the boys of the play pack will only stand aside as their nonsharing comrade gulps his food privately, so the adults will do nothing but pretend not to notice the nonsharer in their midst. "He does not have to share his food if he does not want to," they say in extenuation. When the nonsharer refuses to do his share of the common work, he adds to the sense of grievance against him, but the crisis is subacute. It becomes acute when his wife no longer goes to the manioc garden and asks other women for manioc cake. Then it will be said, "He has a lazy wife, they are not good." At the next drinking party they quarrel, all the resentments are aired, and the dissaffected household departs. I was told, but could not verify it, that in the end chronic nonsharers are killed by sorcery. Such people, it is said, become wanderers, imposing upon the hospitality of kin and of friends. Since they are basically uncooperative they annoy everyone until someone in a fit of anger decides to put them to death.

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INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*urucú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent; their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] [562] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless compounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman, 684 622 614 574 concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the proprieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to request coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger 684 622 834 unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

883 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is re- 684 viled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger [562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi- [773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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754 694 To determine the guilty sorcerer an inquest is held around the hammock of the ill person, or of the deceased, as the case may be. All residents of the maloca gather and wait for the members of the victim's household to make the first charge. The charge is made and evidence is cited in terms of motive and of opportunity. The charge is either corroborated or refuted by any adult in the house, other names are mentioned, and the evidence is sifted. The entire discussion is conducted in a loud and angry tone of voice, and arms are brandished menacingly. Again, we are dealing with the principle [756] that a serious accusation can be made only in anger. The role of the medicine man in the inquest is usually limited to stating his diagnosis of sorcery. He may offer a clue that the sorcerer is a man [622] from afar or nearby but rarely does he name the culprit. The headman is usually the last to enter the discussion. He reviews all the evidence and presents his own verdict, which usually is, but need not be, accepted. After guilt has been established in this way, they decide how to act. It is not considered necessary to ask the accused if he can refute the charges.

WARFARE (*bwaíno*)

721 [615] [614] People of intermarrying phratries often used to fight with one another. It was less likely, however, for sibs that had recently exchanged wives to fight. Not too many years ago the *Djurémawa* from Querarí killed Hühû, an old *Bahükiwa* who was then living at Guaracú. The headman assembled ten men, who went to the Querarí, attacked a house of the *Djurémawa*, killed the occupants, and burned it down. The *Djurémawa*, it was explained, were on a plundering raid. When they killed Hühû and others in his house they carried off the young girls and even the chicha calabashes. One old man escaped to tell what had happened.

Small-scale raids of this sort were apparently common throughout the Vaupés. Most attacks were to seize women, and some were for [614] revenge. Sibs of opposite phratries feuded, and on one occasion a [648] *Hehênewa* sib fought an unsuccessful war for mastery of the Cuduiarí; but the main fear of attack came from alien tribes, Cariban, Arawakan, and, in particular, Tucanoan Desanas. The Desanas raided the Cuduiarí annually during the dry season, when they could move overland and escape detection. During every dry season war [114] alarms spread along the river and the communities are on the alert. [723] I witnessed one such alert. The dogs had given the alarm toward evening and since Desanas had been reported, a defense was pre-

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A woman is active until the moment her labor pains begin. I have seen a pregnant woman leave for her manioc garden behaving as though it were an ordinary gardening day, and return later in the afternoon with a newborn baby. A man is forbidden to be present at the birth of his wife's first child. At her first childbirth a woman is attended by her mother-in-law. In subsequent parturitions she may be unaccompanied, but if she does not feel too strong she invites her mother-in-law or any other woman to accompany her. A woman about to give birth must alert her husband so that he will not leave the house or do anything strenuous that would interfere magically with the delivery and the safety of the infant. The Cubeo give no particular reason for having the child born in the manioc garden. They reveal only a general apprehension that if the child were born in the maloca something would go wrong. Not all children are born in the manioc garden. In bad weather, or at night, a woman settles for the rear plaza as a birth site. Occasionally outside birth is too dangerous and the woman then retires behind screens at the rear of the maloca. The point the Indians insist on is that a child must not be born within the domain of the men. The infant must be brought from the woman's domain and installed by proper ceremony in the male domain. There is a parallel here, I believe, in the bringing in of a wife from her community to that of her husband.

Difficulties in childbirth are attributed to demonic agencies and require the assistance of a medicine man. Human sorcery does not affect childbirth. The common supernatural enemy of the woman in labor is the boa constrictor. When a woman dies in childbirth it may be explained that she had copulated in her garden at one time with a boa. The boa then comes to fetch his child. If he sees that it is a human child after all, he is angered and carries away the mother.

Childbirth (*pwäntadjü*: making a person) is a dangerous period. First the mother and then the infant are subject to supernatural perils that must be warded off. Little can be done, the Cubeo believe, to protect a woman in childbirth. The magical safeguards for the child, however, are elaborate. Primary responsibility for the safety of the newborn infant rests with the parents – with the father, in particular, since it is he who has "made" the child. Some of the precautions begin well before birth. Extra coitus, we have observed, adds to the number of children. Twins, for example, are regarded as a misfortune. Some said both twins are put to death and others said only one, the last to emerge being the one to be killed. Twins may also be born if the father, during his wife's pregnancy, has eaten plantains. If at this time he should greedily break off a bit of manioc

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888 [593] [570] as well. The fixed relationships of mutual obligation are, as has been seen, between husband and wife, between parents and dependent children, between unmarried brother and sister, and between ceremonial friends. These relationships either do not apply to the aged, or, if they do, they may not be of great value to them. Generally speaking, the aged can depend upon those who are younger and vigorous only for the generalized sib benefits of sustenance and companionship. The deprivation of the aged is in what one might mistakenly call "the nonessentials." There is no one to buy an old lady a new petticoat or to get for an old man commercial tobacco. The aged do not protest such neglect because they acknowledge their lack 888 of claim. Nonetheless, they feel their neglect and loss of status keenly 123 enough. When I was among the *Bahúkiwa*, an aged lady employed all her senile charms to wheedle from me a new petticoat. Her husband, a very proud old man, deigned to accept only an occasional cigarette. From time to time he brought me fish and the old lady fetched me some of her small garden produce to reciprocate my favors.

888 The old must look after themselves. The very old *Bahúkiwa* couple maintained a semblance of an independent household. The old woman, unable to carry a load of manioc, no longer gardened, but she fetched firewood and looked after children. She cooked for her husband. Her daughter-in-law provided her with manioc cake. The old man was still a good fisherman, contributing to the maloca. Besides, he was a consultant on many matters, particularly on trees to be used in manufactures.

[18] [769] The focus of Cubeo culture is upon the vigorous household heads. The aged simply fall out of things. They are entitled to no particular respect, nor have they cause to be feared as spirits-to-be, for the Cubeo are interested only in their first ancestors and not in the spirits of the more recent dead.

DEATH

761 [794] 763 Death may be attributed by the Cubeo to natural causes such as accidents, violence, old age, but if it is the result of illness, it must be laid to some agency that has willed it. The most common agency is human. Whether the agency is human or supernatural the reaction to death is patterned on grief, anger, and fear. The Cubeo reaction to death is to give full rein to grief and anger and to short-circuit as quickly as possible the forebodings that what has happened to one may happen to all. The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were

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The only deaths I heard about or witnessed were all attributed to human sorcery so that I have no information on the Cubeo response to natural death or to death attributed to spirits. Mourning is extensive but does not impose unusually onerous duties or restrictions upon the survivors. Mourning goes through three phases. In the first, from the moment of death to burial, which follows quickly, the immediate kin and all sibmates yield to their spontaneous emotions, but up to a point, for the ritualization of emotion sets in quickly. In the second, which is the period from burial to the great mourning ceremony, the nearest female kin of the household – wife, mother, sister – accept the burden of mourning. Finally, in the third phase, the entire living cosmos of the Cubeo – people, Ancients, birds, beasts, fish, insects, and demons – join in the mourning. This third phase, an intricate ceremony, is described in a separate chapter. The dead, as already indicated, are buried beneath the dance floor of the house, emphasizing, it seems to me, the importance the Cubeo place on the house itself rather than upon mere locality.

I was present at the last hours of old João, a *Bahúkiwa* and *bakūdyó* of the headman. He had been ill for several weeks, the medicine men had given up on him, and his death was, therefore, not unexpected. The Cubeo are not solicitous of the dying. Once its inevitability has been accepted death is awaited almost with indifference. Father Giacone (1949, p. 29), speaking for the neighboring Tucano, also observed that once the illness appears to be fatal the patient is given up for lost. Such patients, he adds, will be buried alive. When death seemed near – the old man was breathing with difficulty with a dry rasp – his wife took up the death watch at his hammock. At the moment of death her loud wailing awakened the house and all rushed to surround the hammock except the headman and his wife. Since it is the duty of the headman to preside over the inquest that follows upon the first outburst of grief he must plan upon a properly timed arrival. A shaman of another sib who was in the house also did not intrude upon the mourners, both in his role as shaman and as a sib outsider.

The old woman, truly grief-stricken, had embraced her dead husband's body in the hammock and rocked over it, moaning and wailing. She withdrew, however, when the younger brother of João arrived. He felt for the heartbeat and then covered the old man's face with some rags that had been the sick man's blanket. The women had all gathered to one side of the hammock and they wept continuously, chorusing the loud and emphatic wailing of the widow. The brother fetched his shotgun, moving slowly and grimly. He loaded

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women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekũpwänwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

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The *Bekũpwänwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahúkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

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As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahúdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahúkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahúkũdjauwũ*.

The *Bahúkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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were exchanged, but the two sibs did not invite one another to their drinking parties for the remainder of the season.

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Sorcery is the great fear. All illness is attributed to sorcery and so are deaths that cannot be readily accounted for. When the drinking party is over and someone has become ill, the quarrels will be recalled and a phratry brother will be charged with sorcery. If the shaman bears out the allegation, the sib of the accused will not be invited to the drinking party of the afflicted sib. In the course of a ten-month stay on the Cuduiarí I have seen drinking parties go through a cycle from full participation by most of the sibs to dismal solitary affairs where subdued members of the sib drank with one another and a few friendly phratry mates from closely adjacent sibs. When the fear of sorcery begins to grow, accusations may strike within the sib and split it down the middle. Gradually confidence is restored, headmen begin to think again of large *unkúndye*, and step by step the scale of attendance mounts.

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larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

MASK REPRESENTATIONS

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Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[1] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yuví* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yuruparí *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[1] See the end of this chapter.

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in 534
the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjíko* and her 769
consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the
initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo [462]
as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjíko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjíko* and *Xudjíkũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

765
The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* 614
is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express [615]
condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. [754]
Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within
the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their
innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also [535]
appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

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As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and
magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional
spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the [182]
segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony [614]
in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur- [615]

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men's section making a sucking sound with his lips. Having circled once, he proceeds to prepare the *mihí*. He prepares a quart, which is considered a great deal.

The younger men now fetch the *abúhuwa* masks, that have already been prepared except for final decorations and embellishments. A completed mask has the full sacred character and for that reason the last touches are put off until the very end. The same principle applies to *mihí*, coca, and chicha; they must be fresh or their potency will be lost. In the case of the masks, however, it is a matter of the spirits not being kept waiting. When people come to a ceremony they also complete their decorations just before entering the house, pausing at the canoe landing to do this. Hosts for their part arrange to complete their preparations almost at the moment the first guest arrives.

The first guests to arrive are the Satellites – members of the sib – who appear precisely at noon. They go first, informally, to the rear of the house, where they deliver a bundle of dried fish, a traditional Satellite food offering, to the headman of the sib. They then return to the canoe landing to prepare for a new and formal approach to the house. They carry heavy staffs or other weapons. The head of each Satellite household approaches the open doorway, strikes the side wall a resounding blow with his staff, and steps a few paces into the house, his sons behind him. Inside, the male hosts are in line in order of age seniority, the headman and chief mourner at the head. Each man holds either a staff or a loaded gun planted firmly at his side. Guests and hosts exchange formal greetings in a rapidly delivered dirge that is punctuated at intervals with a moaning sound *ee ee ee ee* followed by a whistling sound *i i i i*, as when *mihí* is brought in. The men, as is customary in formal greetings, do not look at one another but at some distant point past the other's shoulder. The guest moves down the line, spending about five minutes with each host, and the next is received in the same way. When the first arrival has passed down the line, he is given a calabash of chicha by a host, who leaves his place in line to do this. Women are greeted at the rear door by female hosts.

While the hosts safeguard themselves against sorcery by chewing the Jaguars' bark cloth, the guests wear a little pouch at the throat for the same purpose. The effort to protect against sorcery is realistic, since the Cubeo regard every drinking party, an *dyne* in particular, as a prime occasion for a sorcerer to practice his art. These safeguards also carry out the theme of anger and implied hostility that characterizes the early stages of the *dyne*.

After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to

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771 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwänwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

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776 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abúhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abúhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abúhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abúhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abúhukü* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abúhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abúhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abúhukü*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abúhuwa*, it is said, are all very
● [754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abúhukü* and tear his armpit
[821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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beeswax. When enemy *Maúnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these orgres most successfully. The *abúhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abúhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abúhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abúhukũ* tries to catch a woman.

Nyáma abúhuko (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

Kómi is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons."

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiarí. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only.

The river is also the home of the *múápwãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless.

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaibo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[2] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

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pomorphic beliefs about the sun. Linguistic evidence suggests also that the concept of sun and of time is built around the notion of visibility. Thus, direction, having nothing to do with visibility, is based on the *avyá* form.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédde* (pulse) and *umémde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédami*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *pariékokü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekókü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwényaviwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahúkiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokũ*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvalyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhákũkũ* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhákũkũ* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákũ* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvalyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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755 phrases I could not hear but which I was told much later were spells to send the illness away. When the blowing was finished the *yavi* poured water from the earthenware pot into the blackened calabash, scooping into it with his left hand the palm spines. He poured the water over the head of the old man, taking pains to get it into the ears, the patient helping by rolling his head. The black spines now lay scattered on the ground near the old man. The *yavi* went about carefully picking them all up. The entire community had gathered to watch the cure and the *yavi* asked them to help gather the spines. The people did not dare touch the spines. Cautiously, without coming too near, they pointed them out. Having gathered all the spines after a very careful search, the *yavi* went off to the brush at the edge of the plaza. He returned rubbing his hands together and making blowing sounds with his mouth in all directions. He poured once more, this time from the second pot, shaking his rattle but uttering no sound. When he had disposed of the second collection of spines the cure was finished. For reasons of magical secrecy no one interpreted to me what was being done. Later, after the old man had died, I was told that the diagnosis had been unfavorable. The quantity of *duvaiyo* spines found was great, indicating a serious ailment, and the shaman thought that the ailment (*ihé*) was probably not curable.

For minor ailments such as headache, hangover, indigestion, mild bronchial disturbances, and the like, blowing with tobacco smoke is all that is required, and many an old man has the knowledge and preparation to do that. For hangover, smoke is blown onto the top of the head; for stomachache onto the abdomen, and for bronchial disturbances onto the chest. Minor ailments of this sort are treated [756] by kinsmen, who receive no payment other than a small gift. Imported *yavis*, however, may demand as much as a machete or a musket for their services.

● 754 If curing seems unspectacular, the arts of killing or of causing serious illness are to the Cubeo mind extraordinarily well developed. As the Indians see it, most deaths, illnesses, and misfortunes are products of human malevolence. I doubt that any Cubeo seriously believes in dangerous encounters with *abúhuwa*. All, however, live in dread of sorcery. Fear of the *yavi* as jaguar seems genuine enough. 754 Yet despite tales of packs of human "jaguars" going from house to 756 house devouring people, actual incidents of assault by jaguars against (648) people are rare. The Indians, in fact, say that since the establishment of a police garrison at Mitú on the Vaupés the *yavis* have become cautious and no longer attack people.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yavi* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yavi* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yavi*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yavi*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yavi* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives. 754 ● 756

The *yavis* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokübéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yavi* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakü dekókü* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several [828] [177] [776] 754 775 825

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[775] [825] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *tatárako* (butterfly), *utáwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcíkũ* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *dúwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *língoa geral* term *marakimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapihũ kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

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When the rains come the abdomen swells. After days of steady rain the swollen abdomen bursts.

Yokuihye (leaf poison) is reputed to be so poisonous a leaf that it is never touched with the bare hand. The leaf is boiled in water and allowed to dry. Its powder is wrapped in a leafy bag and dipped in any liquid to form an infusion. Some of this liquid spilled on the victim leaves a black spot that quickly disappears. Shortly thereafter the victim dies.

Pothaiye is a berry poison. Its extract is put in chicha or at the end of a stick if it is to be poked up the victim's nose when he is asleep. It causes a slow death by wasting.

Dyoika is a forest plant that kills only children but will sicken adults. A moist packet is allowed to drip over the forehead of the sleeping victim. There is said to be a remedy for this.

There are many other *ihé* products that were not identified to me by name. Some, from the end of a stick, are inserted into the nostrils of a sleeper. People who specialize in this are night wanderers called *parébohe abúhuwa* (very powerful *abúhuwa*). They can see in the dark and are difficult to observe. They lack specific motive for their deeds and may be regarded as male witches. It is these witches who are tortured by having their flesh torn with fishhooks – one tear for each victim – when they are caught.

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(683)

Another *ihé* product is *pend*, an ash that comes from a secret site

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Fig. 13. Petroglyph: *Kómi* playing the ancestral trumpet, Alligator (*Pedikwa sib*).

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754 278 824 682 at the Isana River. This is so potent that only the smallest amount will kill. The poisoner carries it under the fingernail of his index finger held in place with pitch. He may flick it into a calabash of chicha or drop it on a stool, where it will enter the anus of a victim and kill him within a month. The symptoms are headache, fever, stomach cramps, constipation, and wasting. The following tale accounts for the origin of *pená*. There was a drinking party on the Isana River and the people were dancing with *Bekûpwänwa*. Suddenly *Kómi*, a short, fat man, flew into the house on two sticks. He caught a little boy and ate him alive and then another. The people became angry and tried to beat *Kómi* to death with clubs. He said to them, "If you shed my blood you will all die quickly. If you kill me in the house you will all die quickly." *Kómi* told them to take him to a creek called *Manánkanihye*, where they were to build a fire and throw him in. They did this and *Kómi* was reduced to ashes. Every bird and insect that flew near the fire fell into it and was burned. When the fire cooled, a little boy took some bone ash, although his father had warned him not to touch it, and dropped some at the canoe landing. An old man passed over it and immediately fell sick, then another. They tried it on animals and saw it was a good "poison." It comes to the Cuduiarí from Arawakan Indians by way of the Querarí.

754 278 824 682 539

278 824 Curare (*himá*) is known as a powerful poison that may be used only in war and not as a secret potion.

751 As a far from effective prophylactic against all poisons that may be administered at drinking parties and other group gatherings, the people wear as pendants packets made of a leaf called *hutcûdü*, that gives a certain amount of protection against sorcery and poisoning.

75 776 789 771 The attitude of the Cubeo that human malevolence is difficult if not impossible to guard against must be contrasted with their optimism when it comes to dealing with nonhuman spirit beings. Thus, it will be recalled how the spells and "blowing" against the spirits that threaten the newborn infant can be safely entrusted to any sib elder; he need not possess special powers, only the knowledge. The technique of "blowing" has, oddly enough, full magical efficacy in the hands of the layman but is altogether uncertain when used by a medicine man: The point, of course, is that the layman uses simple magic against a manageable nonhuman adversary, whereas the medicine man is called in to pit himself against a formidable human adversary. The human adversary is formidable in Cubeo eyes for two reasons: it acts out of directed passion and it is devious. The nonhuman spirit world, by contrast, is stirred up to a generalized anger.

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571 619 autonomy principle, strong tribal leadership would provoke fission and would then have to become remarkably strong to overcome the disruptive forces it had set in motion.

571 606 607 593 [583] {616} [582] [614] Between in-laws, the linkages are more diversified and hence are stronger than those between fellow tribesmen. The system of exchange marriages creates a particularly close set of bonds, because it draws upon the powerful nuclear bonds between brother and sister and supplements these with preferential marriage into the sib of the mother. There seems to be a potentiality for moiety formation in the Cubeo system. But this potentiality is never realized because of geographic distances and the wide ranges of marital choice, intratribal as well as extratribal. In the case of affinal sibs, the thesis of inherent antagonism is counterbalanced by the brother-sister tie. When that tie is dissolved, as by death or divorce, the antagonisms may begin to loom large, and what were formerly close ties will begin to dissolve. In this orbit of in-laws, however, equilibrium does not really demand fixed ties, since the affinal relationships are eminently interchangeable.

571 615 In the orbit of the phratry, the bonds are more impressively substantial, based as they are upon tradition, upon the fiction of blood kinship, and upon contiguity, hospitality, and ceremonial participations. These bonds of attraction are all the more impressive because there is so little to oppose them. There is no phratric leadership and there are no secular tasks to provoke possible conflict of interest.

571 614 578 [615] [754] Nevertheless, latent hostilities dramatized in the mourning ceremony and made seriously real in charges of sorcery have the capability of wrecking phratric unity. To offset the powerfully disruptive force of sorcery there are few specific institutional mechanisms that the Cubeo can call upon. They rely instead upon a cooling-off period of sib separation. The excited parties separate until the original fear and anger have drained off. But why the antagonisms between the sibs in the first place? Actually, the issues that disturb friendly relations between members of different sibs are fundamentally no different than those that turn sibmates against one another. They are largely the private issues of adultery and of personal insult, aggravated by intoxication and given a grim setting by the cultural theory of sorcery. Occasionally the hostile reaction is against a sib headman who is overly assertive. This situation is duplicated within the sib as well. It is not the issues, then, but their cultural context that is significant.

When men of a sib quarrel, it is relatively easy for the headman to isolate the grievance so that only the two principals are involved. In cases of adultery the device of shifting the blame upon the woman